

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

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AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 4975

FOR EUR/RPM

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE, PFOR, XG, PARM

SUBJECT: CSCE: CBMS - SOVIET REACTIONS TO UK DRAFT FOR FINAL
DOCUMENT

REF: GENEVA 4887

1. SUMMARY: IN INITIAL REACTIONS TO UK DRAFT GIVEN TO UK
DELEGATION CHIEF ON JUNE 26, SOVIETS FOCUSSED ON AREA FOR
MANEUVER CBM AND ON MOVEMENTS TEXT. SEPARATE DISCUSSION
WITH US DELOFF COVERED MORE TECHNICAL POINTS IN DRAFT. UK
PLANS TO CIRCULATE TEXT PRIOR TO JUNE 28 INFORMAL MEETING
OF CBM SUBCOMMITTEE. END SUMMARY.

2. UK DEL HEAD HILDYARD PRESENTED PACKAGE PROPOSAL FOR
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FINAL CBM DOCUMENT TO SOVIETS (KOVALEV AND MENDELEVICH)

IN AFTERNOON OF JUNE 26. SOVIET REPS DID NOT GIVE
DETAILED REACTIONS. HOWEVER, THEY DID RAISE THREE POINTS:

A) POSSIBILITY THAT PARAGRAPH CONTAINING EXCEPTIONS TO
MANEUVER CBM FOR STATES WITH TERRITORY EXTENDING BEYOND
EUROPE WOULD OBLIGE SOVIETS TO NOTIFY MANEUVERS IN
ARCTIC AREA "FACING" CANADA. MENDELEVICH SAID THIS
MIGHT BE SOLVED IF "EUROPEAN" WERE ADDED BEFORE "PARTI-
CIPATING STATE" AT END OF SENTENCE.

B) INCLUSION IN UK DRAFT OF SPECIAL EXCEPTION CLAUSE
FOR TURKEY. SOVIETS SAID THIS WAS "COMPLETELY UN-
ACCEPTABLE." WHATEVER ZONE WAS AGREED WOULD HAVE TO
BE SAME FOR BOTH COUNTRIES. IF THE ZONE WERE EQUAL,
HOWEVER, THE SOVIETS WOULD RECOGNIZE THAT TURKEY NEED
NOT ANNOUNCE MANEUVERS NEAR FRONTIERS WITH NON-PARTI-
CIPANTS.

C) MOVEMENTS TEXT, WHICH SOVIETS CHARACTERIZED AS
"MAXIMALIST". IN REPLY, HILDYARD CONTRASTED IT WITH MORE
AMBITIOUS NEUTRAL TEXT IN GENEVA 4872.

3. IN SEPARATE DISCUSSION BETWEEN DELOFF AND SOVIET
ADVISERS (BASKAKOV AND MIKHAILOV), SOVIETS SAID THEY
HAD SENT PARAGRAPHS ON DEFINITION OF MANEUVER TO MOSCOW
ON JUNE 25 AND HAD RECEIVED SEVERAL INQUIRIES OVER-
NIGHT. SOVIETS ASKED WHETHER "AIRBORNE UNITS"
IN SECOND PARAGRAPH ON MANEUVERS (SEE GENEVA 4848)
WERE UNDERSTOOD TO BE "TROOPS", OR PART OF AIRFORCES.
WE REPLIED THAT THEY WERE NOT NORMALLY PART OF AIR-
FORCES, BUT THAT ALLIES WOULD CONSIDER THEM "AIR
COMPONENTS" RATHER THAN "TROOPS" IN THIS SENTENCE. SOVIETS
THEN ASKED IF "TROOPS" IN SAME PARAGRAPH MEANT GROUND FORCE
TROOPS. WE SAID YES. SOVIETS SAID THEY WERE RELIEVED
TO KNOW THIS, BECAUSE THEY EXPECTED THAT "TROOPS" WOULD
NEED TO BE TRANSLATED INTO RUSSIAN AS "GROUND FORCE
TROOPS." (COMMENT: IN SUBSEQUENT CONVERSATION WITH
FRG REP, WE WERE INFORMED THAT GERMANS EXPECT TO MAKE
A SIMILAR TRANSLATION. GIVEN THIS SITUATION, WE BELIEVE
IT WOULD BE DESIRABLE TO INSERT WORDS "GROUND FORCES"
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IN THE ENGLISH VERSION AS WELL, IF OTHERS ARE WILLING
TO ACCEPT CHANGE. HOWEVER, NEUTRALS MAY PREFER TO
RETAIN SLIGHT REMAINING AMBIGUITY, AND MAJORITY ALLIED VIEW
IS THAT TEXT IS CLEAR EVEN WITHOUT THIS ADDITION. END COMMENT.

4. SOVIETS ALSO QUESTIONED END OF SAME SENTENCE,
WHICH READS: "...IN WHICH ANY PARTICIPATING STATE IS
ENGAGED." SOVIETS SAID THIS SEEMED TO MEAN THAT EACH

STATE INVOLVED IN A SINGLE MULTINATIONAL MANEUVER WOULD NEED TO NOTIFY ALL OTHER CSCE PARTICIPANTS EVEN IF SOME OF THE STATES INVOLVED IN THE MANEUVERS HAD VERY SMALL CONTINGENTS, LIKE A REGIMENT. WE OBSERVED THAT TEXT AT ITS FACE VALUE MERELY SEEMED TO REQUIRE THAT NOTIFICATION BE GIVEN OF MAJOR MILITARY MANEUVERS AND DID NOT SEEM TO REQUIRE THAT EACH STATE WITH TROOPS INVOLVED DO SO. (COMMENT: IN SUBSEQUENT CAUCUS DISCUSSION WITH OTHER ALLIES, HOWEVER, SEVERAL MADE POINT THAT AMBIGUITY IN THIS SENTENCE IS INTENTIONAL, TO PROVIDE FOR PARTICIPATION IN OBLIGATORY NOTIFICATION SYSTEM BY STATES WITH SMALL ARMED FORCES IN EUROPE (E.G. CANADA), WHO BY THEMSELVES WOULD NEVER CARRY OUT A "MAJOR MILITARY MANEUVER." END COMMENT.)

5. SOVIETS ASKED WHAT US ATTITUDE WAS TOWARDS MILITARY MOVEMENTS TEXT. WE REPLIED THAT US WAS SUPPORTING UK PACKAGE ON UNDERSTANDING THAT PORTION ON MOVEMENTS WOULD NOT BE PRESENTED TO SOVIETS ON A "TAKE-IT-OR-LEAVE-IT" BASIS.

6. IN SEPARATE CONVERSATION WITH MENDELEVICH, WE ASKED ABOUT SOVIET REACTION TO THE WORD "DECLARATION" IN TRANSITIONAL CLAUSE AT END OF PREAMBLE. MENDELEVICH SAID WORD WOULD PROBABLY BE ACCEPTABLE IN ENGLISH, BUT HE FORESAW DIFFERENT TRANSLATION INTO RUSSIAN FOR "DECLARATION" IN CBM CONTEXT THAT FOR "DECLARATION" OF PRINCIPLES. WE SAID THIS WOULD PROBABLY NOT BE AN ACCEPTABLE OUTCOME. MENDELEVICH SUGGESTED THAT USING THE VERB "DECLARE" MIGHT BE AN ALTERNATIVE.

7. DURING ABOVE CONVERSATIONS, WE MADE CLEAR THAT WE WERE ONLY DISCUSSING POINTS IN TEXT OF PARTICULAR CONFIDENTIAL

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US INTEREST, AND THAT UK WOULD CONTINUE TO ACT AS AGENT FOR ALLIED GROUP IN BILATERAL CONTACTS. UK NOW INTENDS TO CIRCULATE DRAFT PROPOSAL PRIOR TO INFORMAL SUBCOMMITTEE MEETING ON JUNE 28, AND DRAFT WILL THEN BE DISCUSSED FOR FIRST TIME AMONG ALL CSCE PARTICIPANTS. DALE

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